

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 SAM-01 MC-02 ACDA-05 SAJ-01

DHA-02 IO-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /091 W

----- 092196

R 021900Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8391

INFO AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 06351

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SP, US, FR

SUBJECT: SPAIN: QUA I SEES LOSS OF MOMENTUM

1. SUMMARY: WE FIND QUA I CONCERNED THAT GOS MOVING TOO SLOWLY ON INTERNAL REFORM TO HEAD OFF FURTHER UNREST, WHICH IT EXPECTS WILL ONLY HARDEN THE MILITARY AND REINFORCE ACTION - REACTION CYCLE HEADING TOWARD MORE SERIOUS VIOLENCE AND POSSIBLY EVEN MILITARY TAKEOVER. EVEN SO, GOF ITSELF REMAINS UNDECIDED WHETHER OR HOW TO
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REACT, ALTHOUGH GISCARD HAS DECIDED INVITE KING TO

FRANCE "THIS YEAR" TO BOLSTER HIM AND HIS RESOLVE. NO DATE HAS SO FAR BEEN SET. END SUMMARY.

2. IN MOST RECENT CONTACT WE FOUND QUAI'S SPANISH DESK OFFICER DELARBRE DISTINCTLY DEPRESSED OVER LOSS OF MOMENTUM OF INTERNAL REFORM EFFORT IN SPAIN. WHILE AREILZA, HE SAID, IS TRYING TO CONVINCE REST OF EUROPE OF SPAIN'S PLANS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION, THIS SAME SENSE OF LIBERAL PURPOSEFULNESS HAS NOT BEEN CONVEYED TO SPANISH PEOPLE. INDEED, ENTRENCHED POSITION OF FRANQUISTS AND MILITARY HAS SO FAR MADE IT ALL BUT IMPOSSIBLE TO GO BEYOND PRESENT EFFORTS AT CAUTIOUS COMPROMISES WHICH ARE NOT ENOUGH TO SATISFY EVEN THE MODERATE LEFT. NOR HAS THE KING HELPED MATTERS BY HIS RELATIVE ALOOFNESS, WHICH TENDS TO REINFORCE DISCOURAGING IMPRESSION THAT HE HAS ALREADY BECOME SECONDARY FIGURE.

3. AS A RESULT, QUAI FEARS THAT RECENT UNREST AND LARGE-SCALE STRIKES MAY ONLY BE HARBINGERS OF WORSE TO COME. EVEN FAIRLY REASONABLE LEFT-WING LEADERS, LIKE SOCIALIST GONZALES, FIND IT DIFFICULT UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES TO COUNSEL CONSTRAINT. COMMUNISTS CAN BE COUNTED ON TO DO ALL THEY CAN TO ACCELERATE RENEWED ACTION - REACTION CYCLE, WHICH COULD SOON LEAD TO SERIOUS VIOLENCE. THIS WILL ONLY FURTHER HARDEN POSITION OF SPANISH MILITARY. DELARBRE CONCLUDED THAT, UNLESS PRESENT TRENDS ARE REVERSED BY SUMMER OR AT LATEST, BY NEXT FALL -- AS A RESULT GREATER GOS FLEXIBILITY ON ONE HAND AND LEFT-WING RESTRAINT ON OTHER -- QUAI FEARS THAT MILITARY TAKE-OVER IN SPAIN, EVEN THIS YEAR, CAN NO LONGER BE COMPLETELY EXCLUDED.

4. ASKED WHAT FRANCE, AS SPAIN'S CLOSEST NEIGHBOR, IS DOING IN SITUATION, DELARBRE SAID GOF FACED WITH REAL DILEMMA. ON ONE HAND ELYSEE DOES NOT WANT ENCOURAGE RENEWED CONSERVATIVE TRENDS IN MADRID BY SEEMING TO ENDORSE THEM WITH OFFICIAL VISITS. ON THE OTHER, IT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 06351

WANTS TO USE ITS LEVERAGE, SUCH AS IT IS. THE RESULT HAS SO FAR BEEN IMPASSE BETWEEN THOSE COUNSELING PRUDENCE AND THOSE WHO FEAR THAT TIME IS RUNNING OUT. FOR PRESENT, IDEAS LIKE A SAUVAGNARGUES VISIT TO MADRID ARE THEREFORE ON THE SHELF, OUT OF FEAR GOS WOULD INTERPRET IT PUBLICLY AS AN ENDORSEMENT, ALTHOUGH TECHNICAL MINISTERIAL CONTACTS ARE CONTINUING. ON THE OTHER HAND GISCARD HAS DECIDED TO INVITE THE KING TO VISIT FRANCE
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"SOME TIME THIS YEAR" IN HOPES OF STRENGTHENING NOT ONLY HIS POSITION BUT HIS RESOLVE. HOWEVER NO DATE HAS BEEN SET. DELARBRE IMPLIED SAME DILEMMA NOW ALSO DOGGING THIS QUESTION IN INTERNAL FRENCH DELIBERATIONS. DECISION WILL PROBABLY BE WORKED OUT DIRECTLY BETWEEN ELYSEE AND NEW FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN MADRID, WHO DELARBRE SAID "HAS GISCARD'S MANDATE."

5. DELARBRE THEN PROJECTED ADVERSE EFFECTS OF LOSS OF INTERNAL MOMENTUM IN SPAIN ON ITS PROSPECTS FOR JOINING

EUROPE, STRESSING THAT DUTCH AND DANES WERE ALREADY
POSING FORMIDABLE PROBLEMS. IF SITUATION IN SPAIN
DETERIORATED FURTHER, ITS CHANCES COULD, FOR TIME BEING,
BECOME VIRTUALLY NIL.

6. COMMENT: DELARBRE'S COMMENTS REFLECT STRONG QUAI
VIEW THAT SPAIN'S FRIENDS SHOULD BE LEANING MORE HEAVILY
ON THE KING AND HIS GOVERNMENT TO STEP UP THE MOMENTUM
TOWARD LIBERALIZATION. PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING,
HOWEVER, DOESN'T NECESSARILY GO ALONG WITH THAT VIEW'
AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING. THAT IS WHY, WE SUSPECT,
HE HAS SENT ONE OF HIS CLOSEST FRIENDS, AMBASSADOR
DENIAU, TO BE HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE IN MADRID. IF,
AFTER SEVERAL MORE WEEKS ON THE JOB, DENIAU STARTS TO
AGREE WITH THE QUAI, GISCARD MAY START TO REVISE HIS OWN
THINKING.
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